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childless and desire a son or daughter; in other cases the relatives may need extra help on the land. Sometimes the child stays permanently with his kin, returning to his parents for brief periods when requested to do so. In these instances the parent-child relationship is always retained but the child may lose his parental inheritance; however, he presumably has a claim for his patrimony from the estate of the relative with whom he has lived and worked. This will be discussed in greater detail in the legal material that concerns land and its sale or inheritance.

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Childhood. During Cayapa infancy and early childhood the children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training well before the zonal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely as illustrated in the following excerpt from the writer's notes:

> . . . Augustin's wife was sitting on the floor by the marimba, nursing her child (two months) the older boy is sitting next to her and she seems to be taking special pains with the older boy (four years). She kept her right arm around him, stroking his head while the infant nursed . . . suddenly this picture of maternal love and affection changed radically. The infant

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> had defecated while nursing and the mother reacted explosively. She shouted at the infant, forcibly removed it from the breast, held it at arms length and shook it back and forth, screaming that the child was bad. But a sound escaped from the infant, as its head bobbed back and forth. As the mother regained her composure and began to clean the child, it began to howl. In a few minutes it was cleaned . . . she now gave the breast to the infant, which it seized with a frantic intensity . . . (Altschuler 1960: field notes).

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Many Cayapa women are undoubtedly fairly matter-of-fact about their infants' excretions but, without being able to count cases, my impression is that the general attitude toward uncontrolled elimination is in the direction of the cited example; that is, the mother or surrogate, when required to clean the child, displays decidedly negative feelings (if only in postural stance) that are clearly communicated to the infant. Every Cayapa house has a causeway about five feet above the ground, which is about three feet wide and perhaps thirty to forty feet long, that runs from the cooking area in the rear out into the semicleared area behind. Adult males and boys walk out to edge of the causeway to urinate. A small hole, placed not very far from the house, is used by the women and girls. Adults and toilet-trained

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children, after about the age of six, defecate in the river or in the manig behind the house. As soon as an infant is able to sit, he is placed over the women's and girl's urination hole to defecate. He is not permitted to return to the comfort of the house until he has done so. The weather may be somewhat inclement, it may be dark, the child may howl and scream, he may decide to withhold his feces in defiance of parental command, but no leniency is shown. He must sit out on the causeway, alone, miserable, afraid or defiant, and only after he defecates, is he removed and brought into the house where he may be rewarded with the breast. By the time the child is two years old, he is trained, or perhaps, a better word, broken. Understandably, most Cayapa show an extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces. One day four young boys, ranging in age from about ten to fourteen, came to visit just as my infant son defecated. The boys stopped in their tracks and one, pointing to the mess on the floor, shouted, "/pe/" 'feces,' whereupon they fled.

If no new sibling has arrived, the Cayapa infant is permitted to nurse at the breast for about three years.

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homosexual play is evident during fiestas and, because of the low male sex drive, may be the substitute.

During Cayapa infancy and early childhood, children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training long before the anal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely. The coincidence of the harsh toilet training and the availability of the breast leads to an intensification of oral gratification and a positive psychosexual fixation at this stage. We have already described the toilet training of the Cayapa infant and child, and discussed the extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces on the part of adolescents. The fact that the child is often permitted almost immediately to suck the nipple after having gone through a truly frightening experience involving defecation as described above, structures the peculiarly poignant oral fixation of the Cayapa infant and gives a heightened intensity. The oral fixation derived from anal frustration at such a very early period, is the psychological equivalent of oral frustration and is later intensified by the weaning practices. Weaning is accomplished by

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shaming, ridicule, the application of bitter tasting substances, or frightening the child with stories of cannibalistic ogres.7 Thus, within the psychoanalytic framework, the seeds of dependency drinking are sown and begin to develop.

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> . . . oral frustrations in the infant result in cannibalistic fantasies toward the mother's breast and her total person. Because the child projects its feelings and fantasies, it also views the external world as cannibalistic and develops fears of objects in it. This results in an unconscious fear of being devoured by the love object. The vagina, which is unconsciously equated with the mouth, comes to represent the castrating, devouring organ. Such anticipations result in avoidance of the heterosexual object . . . (Bieber 1962:6-7).

For the Cayapa, the equation of vagina:mouth is not at all unconscious. The vagina dentata motif is clearly present, and sexual intercourse is spoken of as the vagina eating the penis. As for cannibalistic fantasies, they still exist in the stories that the Cayapa tell of the wild Indians who lived in the area before them; these Indians were cannibals and preyed on the Cayapa. The fantasies are also used to manipulate events. When I first explored the Cayapa area up to the Río Tigre, I decided to do my work among the Cayapa of the San

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Given his peculiarly harsh, intense and very early training in sphincter control, the Cayapa's autonomous motivation, or competence, is derived in no small degree from the little drama that is enacted daily on the causeway behind the cooking area. This interpretation of the rigorous training, however, does not refute the importance of the motility urge, but enhances it. As a rule, the child undergoes the severe training in sphincter control and perhaps weaning, at the same time that he is frustrated in his exploratory forays outside the house, precisely when he is in the stage of heightened motility. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls; it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. As a result, he is not permitted to master, integrate and test the world outside his home. He is confined within the house except for family movements for work-visits with relations or to fiestas (where he is still confined within the limits of the house). This confinement lasts

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